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INDUSTRIES AND THE STATE UNDER SOCIALISM

(3rd Edition)



Address before the National Conference of State Manufacturers
Associations, at St. Louis, Missouri, Feb. 14, 1919

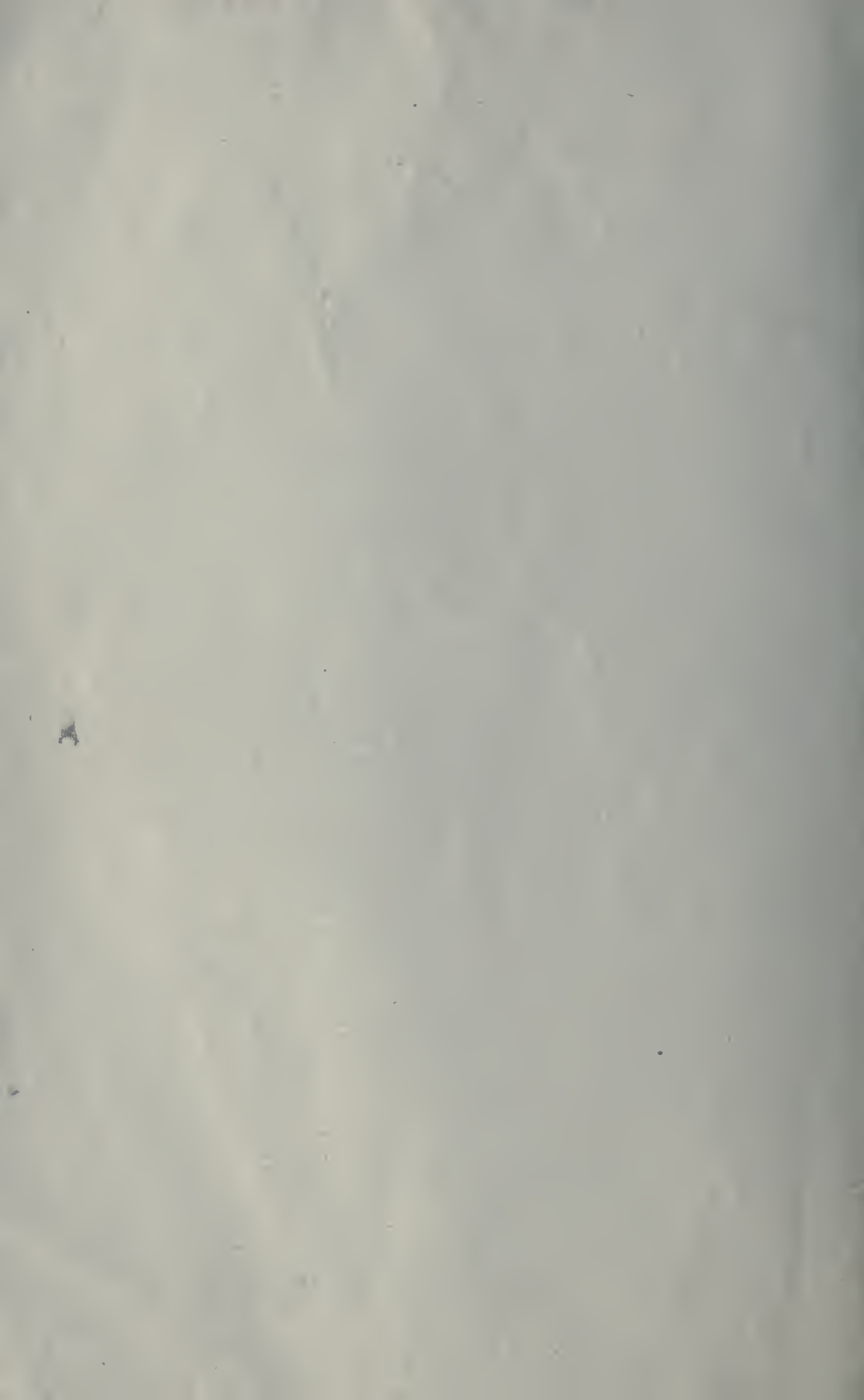
By

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Chairman American Bar Association Committee to Oppose Judicial
Recall and Allied Measures.

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I was asked to discuss today the subject of Industries and the State. I accepted, because I had something which I wished to say upon that subject to those who represent the industrial interests of this country. There are many phases of the subject, varying in their importance and pertinence. That phase which I shall present is one which some of you will be inclined, upon first impression, to deem such as to make my discussion in the nature of a digression. To me it is the most important and the most pertinent phase of the subject before us.

You may have expected a discussion of the needs and benefits of uniform state laws in respect of interstate commercial transactions and of the great work in that line which is being accomplished by the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws. I might well discuss the attitude of State Governments and of the Federal Government toward industrial enterprises and also the attitude of industries toward the State, and the changes which might be brought about to the benefit of all. But these and all other phases of the subject become insignificant as against the question of whether in this country you are to safeguard the very existence of industries and preserve the State itself,—using the terms “indus-

tries" and "the State" to denote that which has any semblance of your present ideas, or ideals, of those institutions.

If the very existence of your house and home is threatened by an increasing conflagration which is approaching nearer and nearer, you don't stop to discuss with your architect or your housefurnisher the questions of repairs, alterations and remodeling. Instead, you bend all your energies to save from distruction the house as it is. If the health and life of yourself, or of those dear to you, are threatened by the creeping, destructive processes of some deadly germ, your discussions are quite different from those you would follow if the question of life and death was not immediately pressing.

My first public utterance of original composition was forty years ago, when, having as a school boy studied the teachings of Socialism and the secrets of the inner councils of the Socialist propaganda then well on its way in this country, I described the menace, then a comparatively remote one, of a Socialistic revolution in this country, starting with peaceful methods and ending in a violent overthrow of our industries and of our governments, state and federal. That then was a far off prophecy of possibilities. My last public discussion was when, before the last fall elections, I went to Iowa (1) to rouse the lawyers and the people of that State, and of the Northwest, to bend all their activities against the present destructive and increasing encroachments upon our national and state institutions by the red rag of Socialism. The flag of Socialism is no longer a mere symbol of secret treason but, in the same breezes that spread the Stars and Stripes, is, in effect, now flaunted from the city halls of many cities, and from the capitol dome of at least one great State, as well as in the pages of a widely circulated seditious press whose editors would strike from the flag which floats over the capitol at Washington every bar and star of white and the blue of the shield which, with the stars it bears, symbolizes our United States.

Today mine is no far-off prophecy but an urgent cry for immediate action against a present encroaching destruction of our industrial and governmental institutions which is now in progress in our very midst.

(1) "The Disloyalty of Socialism", annual address before Iowa State Bar Association, Des Moines, June 28, 1918.

WHAT SOCIALISM IS

[Call it Socialism, Communism, I. W. Wism, Townleyism, Bolshevism, or what not. What's in a name? A stink-bug by any other name would smell as sweet. It has been said that there are Socialists and there are Socialists. But let me tell you, there are just Socialists. Socialists are Socialists, and nothing else. Their consistency is their only merit.] They practice just what they preach; and both their preachings and their practices are today in this country precisely what is taught in "The Communist Manifesto" of Marx and Engels of seventy years ago and in that bible of the Socialists, Karl Marx's "Das Kapital" of nearly three-quarters of a century ago. [The Socialism of today is Marxian Socialism. Its primary object, as expressly avowed, is to overthrow existing governments, whether democratic or monarchical,—peacefully so far as discreet, but by organized violence when feasible.] Next, all control of government is to be seized by the proletariat,—which means the present laboring, wage-earning class. This means a seizure of the State in all its functions, legislative, judicial and executive. And this political ascendancy of the proletariat is to be obtained peaceably only if that is "the easier and quicker way"; otherwise, by violence. Then the institution of private property, that is the right of private ownership in things tangible or intangible, is to be abolished,—by indirect and peaceful means as far as convenient, but by violence so far as conducive to speed and thoroughness of the change.

In the words of Marx himself:

"The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest by degrees all capital from the bourgeoisie, and to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the State, that is, of the proletariat organized as the ruling class." (2)

This does not mean merely government or public ownership of all means of production. It means exclusive ownership and operation by the State "of all instruments of production", that is of all property rights, including all industrial activities, manufacturing, commercial and agricultural. Moreover, by the term "State" is meant a State which is controlled exclusively by the wage-earning class and the governmental functions of which, legislative, judicial and executive, are in the

(2) "Communist Manifesto" of 1848, by Marx and Engels.

exclusive control of the same prolet t. "The distinguishing feature of communism", says Marx, in his Manifesto, "is the abolition of bourgeois property". But his "bourgeois" means private holding of property. His Socialism means the abolition of the right of private property, that is private ownership, in anything.

Now, gentlemen, under Socialism what would become of the enterprises which you represent, you of the bourgeoisie, employers of labor? What would happen to every industry, manufacturing, commercial, or even agricultural, in this country? They would be eliminated. Under Socialism what would become of the State, so far as any form of government known by that term today could be recognized? The State itself is eliminated.

"An alarmist", some of you are thinking. Well, let us see. I tell you that the Socialism of today is precisely the same as the Marxian Socialism of seventy years ago. The only difference is, that Marx was merely a revolutionary theorist, whereas today his disciples are organized militants, working out, right in your midst, right here in these United States, an actual revolution against our federal and state governments and against all the institutions which those governments were organized to safeguard, and particularly against the right of private property, which is the basis of every industrial enterprise, the source and safeguard of individual incentive, thrift and activity, and of their fruits. Socialism means the elimination of the individual and of every quality and characteristic which makes *the* man something different from simply *a* man.

One form of government is better than another in precisely that degree in which it insures its own efficiency and stability from internal disruption. It is efficient in the same degree that, at the same time that it treats all men as equal, it gives to each man equal rights and opportunity for development and protects each and all in the fruits of individual effort and thrift. Our Government is based upon a theory the very opposite of that which is the basis of Socialism. The basic theory of our Government recognizes individual property rights and the right of contract which rights are the basis of private industrial enterprises, wards the maintenance of these rights by fundamen' . . .trolling upon the law-making

power of the States and of the Nation. (3)

The efficient protection of these and other inalienable individual rights was, more than anything else, the object and accomplishment of our Constitutional Government. For the purpose of safeguarding these rights various constitutional checks and limitations are expressly made. The people may, either directly or indirectly through their duly elected representatives, enact statutes. This is the legislative function. But before a statutory law is enforceable it must be able to pass the scrutiny of the courts, who measure it by the rule of the constitutional checks and limitations upon legislation and declare it valid or invalid. This is the judicial function. The executive function is to enforce all valid legislation. The preservation of these three co-ordinate functional departments of government, as provided in our Constitution, is necessary to retain that balance of governmental powers requisite to either efficiency or stability.

It was this establishment of effective protection, not merely theoretical protection, of the individual and of the minority against the arbitrary caprice and oppression of local or temporary majorities, that has made stability, efficiency, security of life, liberty and property of persons and of minorities, prosperity and enlightenment of its citizens, the characteristic features of the government of this, the greatest republic in the world's history. It is these scientific, practical and effective features of our system of government which have made it the model for all modern governmental reorganizations and have made our Constitution, and the government administered under it, the objects of admiration and even marvel of the masters of the science of government. Gladstone characterized our Constitution as expounded by Marshall, "the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man". Bryce, the greatest modern student and authority upon constitutional government, terms ours, as "the first true federal state founded on a complete and scientific basis".

This view of our plan of government was approved only the other day by the leaders of the governments of the world when, at the Peace Conference at Paris, it was decided that the proposed League of Nations, a league to enforce the peace of the world, could safeguard the accomplishment of its purpose

(3) *Coppage vs. Kansas*, 236 U. S. 1, 17-18.

only upon a plan of government and control which followed the basic principles of our own Federal Constitution.

THE SOCIALIST ATTITUDE TOWARD OUR GOVERNMENT

But Socialism in this country today teaches that our Declaration of Independence and our Federal Constitution are merely instruments deliberately concocted to perpetuate fraud, robbery and oppression. The government which has its basis upon those instruments is held up to derision as a government of fraud and of robbery, a government of injustice, a government of exploitation of the weaker for the benefit of the stronger, a government of oppression, a government wicked in its formation, wicked in its administration and wicked in all its promises for the future. Righteously and logically, according to orthodox Socialism as taught in this country today, our governments, state and federal, are only the deserving objects of enmity and destruction by every citizen within their jurisdiction.

The Socialist national platform in 1912 included the following items in its program of action:

The government ownership and management of all means of transportation and communication, and of all large-scale industries, including the immediate acquirement by the government, either municipal, state or federal, of all grain elevators, stock yards, storage warehouses and other distributing agencies; all land should be taken over by the state either directly or by confiscatory taxation; the adoption of the initiative, referendum and recall (including judicial recall); the fixing of minimum wage scales in all employments; the abolition of the United States Senate and of the veto power of the president, and allowing a repeal of national laws only by act of the Congress or by voters in a majority of the States; the abolition of all federal courts, except the Federal Supreme Court, and the election of all judges for short terms; the abolition of the power "usurped" (as they say) by the Supreme Court of the United States to pass upon the constitutionality of legislative acts; and the revision (upon the Socialist basis) of the Constitution of the United States.

But these are only temporary measures of "relief" and are steps to a greater change. That is, they

"are but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole

powers of Government in order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system of socialized industry and thus come to their rightful inheritance."

The platform of 1916 is practically the same.

The 1912 Socialist platform in Minnesota, after advocating similar temporary measures of "relief", states as the ultimate aim of Socialism:

"The before-mentioned measures are presented by the Socialist party for the immediate relief of the workers, but its main efforts are directed to the complete overthrow of the present capitalist order and the establishment of an industrial system based upon the collective ownership and democratic management and control of the sources and machinery of wealth production."

The Socialist party of Minneapolis in its 1912 platform proposes specific changes and then asserts that these are only a step to an end:

"We repeat that it must be distinctly understood that we advocate these remedial measures only as a means to advance the one great end of the Co-operative Commonwealth."

We have here, then, the advocacy today of Marxian Socialism,—a revolution in all industrial and governmental activities. Is this to be a revolution by peaceful change alone? No. The Socialist candidate for the presidency dismisses the subject of violent intentions on the part of the Socialists solely on the ground that violence would at the present time be inadvisable, because "the use of dynamite would turn the minds of people against them". When, however, conditions change so that it may become "advisable", he recognizes the idea "of bombs and bullets", and says that when the Socialists become the majority they will enforce their will, "even with bullets". (4)

When the Socialists shall get control of the Government they will confiscate to the State all private property, perhaps under a pretense of compensation which is only a gratuitous concession to the "robbers" who have acquired such properties. Such compensation even is not to be based upon any principle of right either in law or in morals. The nominal compensation suggested, for instance by Representative Berger in the National House of Representatives in connection with his measure for taking over by the Government of large business enterprises,

seems to be more like the "reward" sometimes offered to thieves for the return of stolen goods "and no questions asked". Benson says:

"I believe that most Socialists twenty years ago, were in favor of confiscation. The trend now is all toward compensation. Not that Socialists have changed their minds at all about the equities of the matter. They have not. But they are coming to see that compensation is the easier and quicker way." (4)

THE SOCIALISTS AND OUR CONSTITUTION

The Socialist propaganda publishes wide its view of our Constitution and shamelessly and treasonably derides that instrument and traduces the character of its makers. They were "grafters" and "crooks". This same Benson asserts that our Constitution was adroitly planned and put together and its adoption surreptitiously and deceitfully secured, for the very purpose of destroying the rights and liberties of the common people. He holds up to the utmost contempt that instrument for which respect and support are made the essence of the oath of American citizenship. He villifies the Constitution itself, defames its makers and the very motives of their work in its making and teaches disloyalty to it and to the Government the stability of which depends upon the enforcement of that Constitution as its fundamental law. He sneers at the idea of holding the Constitution in veneration and says that anyone who, knowing the principles and purposes that underly our Constitution, voluntarily accepts citizenship under it should be regarded "either as a fool or a fraud." (5)

This is from the chosen national representative of the Socialist movement in this country during the political campaign of 1916, of whom Eugene V. Debs, also once Socialist candidate for president, has said that "no one is better qualified to write a popular exposition of the Socialist philosophy and to make clear to the average reader the real meaning of Socialism".

The Declaration of Independence is reviled as a document written by American thieves to fool the workers with. (6)

(4) "The Truth About Socialism", by Allan Benson.

(5) Chapter 2, "Our Dishonest Constitution", by Allan L. Benson; also Benson in Pearson's Magazine, August, 1913.

(6) "Age of Reason", published at Dallas, Texas, in July, 1914.

And not only a political revolution, but a social revolution as well, is contemplated. Our Government is founded on the institution of the family but orthodox Socialism classes monogamy as an ally of prostitution and inveighs against the family relation. (7) Socialism is also atheistic. "We aim", says August Bebel, "in the domain of what is called today religion, at atheism". And one of the last Russian bolshevik declarations asserts that "the family and the church are the two great enemies of humanity". God is eliminated. Industries, the State, and womanhood itself, are eliminated—that is, "nationalized".

Next to Benson himself, the most conspicuous and active muckraker of our constitutional system today is a rank Socialist (but one who would deny the brand) who is Chief Justice of the State Supreme Court of North Carolina. He paraphrases Benson in expressing his views as to the motives of the makers of our Constitution as well as his views in regard to its enforcement. Its origin and enforcement are, he says, the work of "exploiters" intended and operated as an instrument of oppression and injustice, and until he can get this Constitution of ours changed in terms and in theory he would have its enforcement prevented by establishing the judicial recall or by other measures calculated to deprive the courts of the functions which he claims are entirely usurped. (8)

These men, Benson and Clark, are only two of a very large number of citizens who are more undesirable than any member of the I. W. W. such as Haywood, Ettor or Giovannitti, or than any red-rag anarchist who escapes from some foreign prison to practice his favorite art of bomb-throwing in this country. We can incarcerate murderous I. W. W. We can deport the alien agitator. But as yet we have no adequate recourse against such men as Benson and Clark whose instructions in enmity to our Government are published as part of the propaganda of Socialism to stir up riot and rebellion throughout our land.

Nevertheless, Benson has stood as candidate for the office of President of this nation, and Clark aspires to the office of Jus-

(7) See "The Communist Manifesto", by Marx and Engels; also "Outlooks from a New Standpoint", by E. Belfort Bax; also "Origin of the Family", by Frederick Engels; also "Woman and Socialism", by August Bebel.

(8) Chief Justice Walter Clark on "Government by Judges", address at Cooper Union, New York City, January 27, 1914; also by same author: "Some Myths of the Law", Michigan Law Review, Nov. 1914; also "Some Defects in the Constitution of the United States", and "Back to the Constitution".

tice of the Federal Supreme Court. The oath of citizenship includes a solemn pledge to support our Government and its institutions. Now I ask you: If, thus holding in contempt the institutions of this country, either of these men were a foreigner and as such should come before one of you, sitting as a judge to pass upon his application for naturalization, what, do you think, knowing his views, would be your judgment as to his qualifications to take the oath of allegiance and citizenship? If I were such a judge I would deny the application, and if I had the power I would order them both to be immediately deported.

Senator Owen of Oklahoma, another Socialist in disguise, chafes at the restraint of all constitutional checks and limitations and would turn over to the legislative departments of the Government the exclusive power and authority finally to decide as to the validity of their own enactments. Less than a year ago he introduced and advocated the passage of an amendment to a certain act of the Congress providing:

"Any executive or judicial officer who in his official capacity denies the constitutionality of this act shall ipso facto vacate his office. No judge of an inferior federal court shall permit the question of the constitutionality of this act to be raised in the court over which he presides, and the United States Supreme Court shall have no appellate power to pass upon such question."

ENCROACHMENTS OF SOCIALISM

So much for theory and propaganda. Now, what is Socialism in practice? We don't have to seek out some secluded community, playing, as it were, a little game of Socialist theory. The practical workings of Socialism are already manifest throughout this country. It has at times held, and now holds, actual control of municipal governments and has for more than two years had within its grasp the entire governmental control of the great State of North Dakota. Its representatives sit in the halls of the Congress, in state legislatures, and in aldermanic councils. Socialist legislation has in many cases been enacted and enforced, through Socialist influence over constituencies which would disavow the name of Socialist.

As a step to the accomplishment of their ultimate purpose, and only as a step to the abrogation of the right of private property and of our present form of government, the Socialist political platforms advocate the recall of judges and of judicial deci-

tions. The Socialist organ, "Appeal to Reason", says that the Judicial Recall "is the means whereby the people will be enabled to inaugurate Socialism, and after that is done they may secure democracy in industry". Until our present form of government can be overturned, and thereby the present constitutional protection to right of private property, protection of industries and of the State as now established, be eliminated, the Socialists seek to eliminate the exercise of that function by which alone there can be retained any efficiency in constitutional protection. They would eliminate the judicial function entirely and, until elimination is possible, they would gradually undermine and diminish the power of the judiciary. First, by replacing the independent and fearless judge with a mere tool of temporary popular whim and passion. If thereby he is not sufficiently cowed to violate his oath to observe constitutional provisions, they would then take the violation of the Constitution into their own hands by making the decision of a judge subject to recall by popular vote, or they would deprive the courts of the judicial function of declaring any statute, no matter how violative of personal or property rights, unenforcible.

This Socialist movement for the judicial recall has already succeeded in this country so that, beginning with Oregon in 1908, the recall of judges was written into the constitutions of California in 1911, Colorado, Arizona and Nevada in 1912, and Kansas in 1914, and in Colorado the same constitutional amendment provides for the recall of judicial decisions. In Arkansas recall of judges was adopted by the people in 1912 but was invalidated because it was wrongly submitted. A similar amendment may be expected in North Dakota this year.

There is no reason, except that based upon Socialist theories of public control over industries and enterprises essentially private, why the business of insurance, fire, life or casualty, should be operated by the State, either in monopolistic form or otherwise. State fire, life or casualty insurance, for risks in private enterprises, is simply one step toward the general control and operation, in accordance with the Socialist platform, of all private industries and enterprises. No system of state casualty insurance, whether in connection with a workmen's compensation law or otherwise, can be made self-sustaining. The state insurance funds under state insurance, if they are to give adequate service, must be replenished by subsidies raised by taxa-

tion. State insurance is simply one form of communizing, or socializing, a business which can be conducted economically and efficiently only by private enterprise.

The statutory minimum wage in private employment is nothing more than the carrying out of the Socialist principle that there should be no wages, or that, if there is a wage, its amount should not be measured by the work-worth of the wage earner. The fact alone that an employee is upon the payroll of an employer, is to make the employer indebted, weekly or monthly as the case may be, to the employee in a certain minimum amount, and this, too, although the minimum is such as to prohibit profits to the employer and although the employee himself, and others not yet employed, might be willing and anxious to work at a wage lower than the minimum. If necessary the employer must pay the fixed wage out of capital and thereby be forced out of business. On the other hand, workers are kept jobless until they can demand and receive at least the minimum fixed. The artificial excess of the minimum wage over the normal wage is a forced contribution by the employer to the employee and is to meet needs which are purely personal and do not arise out of, or in connection with, the occupation in question. It is simply an application of the Socialist principle of confiscating the property of those who have for the benefit of those who have not. As stated by Haywood, the I. W. W. leader: "If we get a minimum wage we can destroy wages altogether, and that is just what we intend to do." (9)

THE DISLOYALTY OF SOCIALISM

I need not remind you that, in this city on April 7, 1917, just after our war with Germany was declared, the Emergency Convention of the Socialist Party branded that declaration of war by our Government as a crime against the world and the war as the most unjustifiable war in all modern history, and pledged themselves

"to continuous, active and public opposition to the war, through * * * all means within our power and to unyielding opposition to all military or industrial conscription * * * and any attempt to raise money for war expenses by

(9) Speech at I. W. W. meeting at Jersey City, N. J., at time of the strike of textile workers at Lawrence, Mass. Haywood talked while he walked on the Stars and Stripes, saying "The American flag . . . is only fit for the working men to wipe their feet on".

taxing the necessities of life or issuing bonds which will put the burden on future generations.” (10)

Morris Hillquit, the international secretary of the Socialist Party of America, and America's leading exponent of Socialism, commended the St. Louis platform in these words:

“It will forever be to the credit of the Socialist Party of America that during the period of the acutest crisis in the life of international Socialism, it has not failed or wavered.”

It is true that John Spargo, and later Benson himself, withdrew from the Socialist party after the promulgation of that St. Louis platform. But Benson has never repudiated any part of that platform so far as its being a declaration of Socialist principles. He explains that the war measures, affecting private industries and individual rights and liberties as they existed in time of peace, were in line with the permanent objects of Socialism and that the Socialists, both as individuals and as a party, should welcome the demonstrations of public over private control. In his own words:

“So far as Socialism in America is concerned, war has worked a paradox, in that both the people and the Government have welcomed part of the philosophy but have kicked out the party. War has disclosed that certain Socialist principles work but that the party does not.” (11)

Benson must be classed as an undesirable citizen until he shall recant his Socialistic tirades against our Government and its institutions.

TOWNLEYISM—A CONCRETE EXAMPLE OF SOCIALISM

You have heard of the so-called “Farmers Non-Partisan League”. It has captured, and now for two years has held, the government of the State of North Dakota. Its propaganda is spread throughout the United States and it has made most dangerous assaults upon the governments of Minnesota, Iowa, South Dakota, Montana, Idaho, and other Western States. It is working today to a greater or less extent in every State in the Union and, right here in Missouri, it has its press organs

(10) “The American Socialist and the War”, with introduction by Morris Hillquit. This is one of the publications of an endowed Socialist bureau, the Rand School of Social Science, New York City. This school is a propagandist of Socialism, publishing and widely circulating throughout the United States publications of Socialist literature, including writings of Benson, Scott Nearing, and Prof. George D. Herron and others. This school is now helping to introduce Russian Bolshevism into this country by publication of speeches of Lenin, and others of the Russian bolsheviks.

(11) Current Opinion for August, 1918.

and representatives. Its name is deceiving. It is neither "farmers" nor "non-partisan" nor "league". It is a Socialist conspiracy controlled entirely by a bankrupt Socialist by the name of A. C. Townley who is exploiting the farmers to establish a Socialist autocracy of which Townley himself is, and intends to remain, the Czar, Kaiser and Sultan. He buncoes the farmers out of money to operate a Socialist propaganda as a result of which, he says himself, he expects to see the Townley flag of Socialism wave on every state capitol dome of the country and upon the capitol at Washington itself. He publicly denies Socialism and disloyalty but he stands self-registered on his registration blank in North Dakota as belonging to the "Socialist party." (12)

He was recently declared a bankrupt in the Federal Courts of North Dakota. He was indicted in the courts of Minnesota on charges of sedition and disloyalty to his government in time of war. One of his chief allies, J. A. Bentall, the recent Socialist candidate for Governor of Minnesota, was convicted in the federal court of disloyalty, but will not serve his sentence until after he gets out of one of the county jails of Minnesota where he is now incarcerated for the crime of sedition. James A. Peterson, after conviction and sentence in the federal court for seditious utterances, ran on the Townley ticket for nomination for United States Senator from Minnesota and received 89,000 votes. Beside others of Townley's associates who have been either indicted or convicted for seditious acts are Townley's manager, Joseph Gilbert, Townley organizers, F. J. Shumaker, N. S. Randall and Joseph Kolu, and also two of Townley's editors, Carl A. Wold and F. A. Tigen. Townley's candidate for Governor in the Minnesota primary election, C. A. Lindberg, is a Socialist who published a book in July, 1917, entitled "Why is Your Country at War?" which breathes disloyalty. In its attitude toward the war it paraphrases the St. Louis platform of the Socialist party and inveighs against liberty bonds and the Red Cross. Still, Lindberg received over 150,000 votes for Governor, or within 48,000 of Governor Burnquist. The Townley candidates always receive the undivided Socialist and pro-German vote.

(12) See "The Farmer and Townleyism" and "A. C. Townley Smoked Out", published by J. D. Bacon, Grand Forks, N. D.; also "The Non-Partisan League from the Inside", by Rev. S. R. Maxwell, published by St. Marie News Co., 96 East 5th St., St. Paul, Minn.

As a concrete example of Socialism in practice let me tell you what the Socialists are doing in North Dakota. They have control, under Townley, of the legislative, judicial and executive departments of the North Dakota State Government. They have passed, by initiative vote of the people, constitutional amendments which open a way to a purely Socialist regime in that State. Included among these is the measure which conforms to the main plank in the platforms of both the national and state Socialist parties,—the provision which permits the State to engage in any industrial enterprise or business, “except the liquor business.” (North Dakota is and has been for years a constitutionally prohibition State.)

I said that these amendments had been passed by the people. That was not correct. They were simply declared by Townley’s Socialist supreme court to have been passed, although they were not. And right here is a good example of the defiance by Socialism in practice of all legal and constitutional restraints. The North Dakota State Constitution required that, to pass a constitutional amendment by initiative vote of the people, it must receive, not merely a majority of the votes cast *upon that measure*, but a majority of all those cast *at that general election*; and this was emphasized by another constitutional provision that, if passed by two succeeding legislatures, it should then be referred to the people and that *in such case* the action of the legislature should be confirmed as to any amendment by a majority of votes cast *thereon*. Townley himself gave warnings to the voters before the general election, for fear that these amendments should not receive a majority of all the votes cast at the general election. He publicly issued oral and written warnings stating that the proposed amendments in order to pass must receive a majority of all the votes cast at the general election. But when such majority failed he and his canvassing board claimed that the amendments had passed anyway; and the other day his State Supreme Court so decided.

His Socialist legislature has just convened at Bismarck and the riot of lawlessness is on. It has already appropriated \$21,000,000 and provided for the taking over by the State of the banks, elevators and flour mills. And more is yet to come. The tax bills already provide for raising \$35,000,000, which makes a tax of \$50 per capita this year as against about one-half that sum last year. And more are yet to come. Every action of the

legislature is determined by an outside secret caucus where Townley and a few chosen adherents control. To this secret caucus no one is admitted except those members of Townley's league who have been sworn in and who have a card to pass them into the caucus room. If afterwards, on the floor of either branch of the legislature, any discussion is started on any measure, some league member moves the previous question. All debate is stopped and the measure passes or fails according to the previous action of the secret caucus. It is useless for any body to introduce a bill before it is approved by the Socialist members of the secret caucus and a league member has to introduce a bill if he is told to do so. One of the official organs of the league, published at Bismarck, announced last week that any league member who did not follow the action of the league caucus upon measures before the legislature would be excommunicated and, indeed, driven out of North Dakota.

To what extent these Socialists will dare to go in their present orgy of control, it is difficult to say. Measures have already been introduced, which it is understood will be ordered passed, for the purpose of setting up the State in different kinds of business, under one of the defeated constitutional amendments which the Supreme Court held to have been passed. Thus far this includes the business of elevators, mills, state fire insurance, and hail insurance. But the session is yet young and only a small percentage of the usual number of bills has yet been introduced. It is not surprising that a bill prohibiting the display of the red flag was promptly killed.

Tax measures, thus far introduced by league influence or passed, indicate a trend toward a confiscation of land values by the application of the single tax theory. Indeed Socialism as taught and applied by Townley is everywhere apparent to be of the orthodox type. The Non-Partisan League has been advertising and selling "a league text book" by Frederick C. Howe, of which a special league edition was gotten out for league members and this book advocates the "reform known generally as the single tax". It advocates the exemption from taxation of all improvements and of personal property and increasing taxes on land up to the full amount of the rental value, thereby gradually depriving land of any value. This is precisely the Socialist method of confiscating to the State all lands and thereby all agricultural industries, at the same time that

other industries are taken over from private ownership and control to the State. As Henry George wrote, the object of the single tax was, that the State should "become the universal landlord without calling herself so". He did not propose either to purchase or to confiscate private property in land. To purchase, he said, would be unjust. To confiscate would be needless. "It is only necessary to confiscate the rent" for, as he says, "we, (the State) may safely leave them the shell, if we take the kernel". Picture the North Dakota farmer members of Townley's "league", when they wake up "the morning after" their present political debauch!

BOLSHEVISM

Russia is not the originator, nor the sole demonstrator, of Bolshevism. The only difference between Socialism, or Bolshevism, in this country and that in Russia is, that in Russia the Socialist sub-fires have burst forth in violent eruption. Circumstances, there, have permitted a more ideal (from the Socialist viewpoint) working out of the principles of this revolutionary movement. There, progress was made in a few months up to and beyond the point reached here in many years. But Socialism here is traveling the same road (only with less rapid pace), as in Russia. The bourgeoisie, or property owning class, in Russia, constituted only about one-tenth of the population. The soviets, that is the proletariat of Russia, (using the Socialist terms) have seized upon the government and have taken the next step, according to the Marxian theory, by ousting the property owners of all property and by the taking over of all enterprises and industries into their control under state organization. However permanent it may be, their work in this line is now an accomplished fact and it has been completely and thoroughly done. And they are consistent, as Socialists are when they have the opportunity. They are not only eliminating the right of private property, and private property itself, but they are completing the job by eliminating, by assassinations and executions under the guise of law, the former property owners themselves. Ignorant villains of the soviet class, drunk with sudden power, are signing death warrants by the thousands and these are issued upon mere rumor or hearsay. And these Russian Bolsheviks are carrying into effect teachings, not merely those of 1848 by Karl Marx, but the teachings of today by Benson and other propagandists of Socialism in this country.

In his recent address to the Bolshevik revolutionists of Rus-

sia, Nikolai Lenin, the Premier of the Russian Soviet Republic, discusses, as the problems of the Soviet Government, the following questions:

"What happens after a revolution has been fought and the workers have captured the powers of government? What follows the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of a 'dictatorship of the proletariat'? What are the problems which the proletarian government must face, and how are these problems to be solved?"

The solution Lenin announces as follows:

"This historical experience of all revolutions, the universal historical—economic and political—lesson was summed up by Marx in his brief, sharp, exact and vivid formula: *the dictatorship of the proletariat*. And that the Russian revolution has correctly approached this universal historical problem, has been proved by the victorious march of the Soviet organization among all the peoples and tongues of Russia. For the Soviet rule is nothing else than the organized form of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

He deprecates hesitation at unmerciful methods and the delay of deliberation, and closes his address with the following words:

"We must clearly comprehend and firmly remember that Socialism cannot be built on such a social base. Only a class that marches along its roads without hesitation, that does not become dejected and does not despair on the most difficult and dangerous crossings, can lead the toiling and exploited masses. We do not need hysterical outbursts. *We need the regular march of the iron battalions of the proletariat.*" (13)

There is a great lack of understanding, in this country today, as to who Lenin is and as to what Russian Bolshevism is. Lenin is too often assumed to represent a higher cult of Socialism and the difference between the terms "Bolshevism" and "Socialism" is taken to signify a marked distinction. The fact is, that the term "Bolshevism" itself means nothing except as the Russian term to denote the party which is in power, and that happens at the present time to be Lenin and his cut-throat Socialist gang. Note that Lenin himself speaks only of "Socialism" as the goal of his Soviet mob. So far as concerns Socialism generally and the movement in Russia which is now termed

(13) "The Soviets at Work—The International Position of the Russian Soviet Republic and the Fundamental Problems of the Socialist Revolution" by Nikolai Lenin, 3rd edition, published and distributed by mail throughout the United States by the Rand School of Social Science, New York.

Bolshevism, you will notice that this Bolshevism is precisely the Socialism of Karl Marx. It is the Socialism taught by the Socialist party and by all Socialists in this country today. The only difference is, that the Russian Bolshevism of Lenin is orthodox Socialism working in an acute form in a body-politic long poisoned by predisposing conditions and now caught doubly sick and weakened by war and famine. The Bolsheviks are the Socialist buzzards of Russia. (14)

It was only last week that the great commercial and industrial city of Seattle was the scene of an incipient revolution of violence egged on by the bolshevist agitators, some local, some fresh from Russia and striving to accomplish the avowed purpose of spreading a bolshevist upheaval in this country of the same kind as that under which Russia now suffers.

Mayor Hanson of Seattle in his statement regarding the riot, said that the rioters, incited by the success of the Russian revolutionists, had planned to start on the Pacific Coast an American Bolshevik revolution and that:

"Gathered together in Seattle are Joe Ettor of Lawrence, Mass., fame; Mucky McDonald and men of his stripe from all over the Union. Gathered here are hundreds and thousands of Russian Bolsheviks who have arrived here during the past two years. These scoundrels want to take possession of our American government and try to duplicate the anarchy of Russia."

Whether you are in sympathy with organized labor, and particularly with trade unionism, or not, you cannot shut your eyes to the fact, which was demonstrated at Seattle and which has been shown in other ways, that trade unionism in America today is as yet one of the safeguards against the destructive tendencies of the movement represented by the red flag of Socialism. To say this, is not to support organized labor in all of its purposes nor in all of its practices. It is simply to recognize certain demonstrated facts. It has been proven that, however

(14) Since this address was delivered, Clarence Darrow, an apostle of Socialism in America, has shown this identity between Socialism and Russian Bolshevism in his recent discussion of the subject in the Chicago Sunday Tribune of February 16, 1919, wherein he summarizes the position of Lenin revolutionists as follows: "They made it quite plain that they were not mere revolutionary reformers, but unterrified, resolute revolutionists. They had, they said, a great, a historic opportunity to establish Marxian social democracy in Russia. They had the right and the duty, they contended, to make the effort and to make it at any cost. They were prepared to resist opposition and to give it no quarter. He who was not with them was against them. They had to act quickly and decisively, they said, or else fritter away their chance and prove themselves weaklings and cowards. They established a dictatorship of the proletariat." Also see "Bolshevism", by John Spargo.

unjustifiable in some instances may have been the position of organized labor, nevertheless, its members as a whole and its leaders generally balk at the revolutionary extremism of Socialism and refuse to recognize any affiliation between unionism and the red radicalism of Socialism. Therefore, unionism has, potentially and in fact, a steadying influence which, if properly recognized and encouraged, may develop into the last effective safeguard against a Socialist revolution. The red extremists of Socialism are doing their utmost to break into the ranks of unionism and to make converts to a political revolution and to take advantage of every trying industrial situation in any locality to accomplish their purpose. In Seattle the other day a strike had been started by organized labor, but within the rules recognized by unionism. The incident would not have taken on any national significance had it not been for the interference of the Socialist revolutionists who had gathered in Seattle. They issued their manifesto to organized labor intended to incite labor to a revolution of violence and they said to labor:

"Since the products and industries of the world are ours by rights; since through the proper organization we can manage both more efficiently and with justice to all, and we're ready, let's win."

This is Socialism pure and simple. Then, in line with the Russian phase of Socialism, they added:

"Russia did it. Overthrow the present system as the Russians did their government."

This was intended to transform an ordinary local industrial strike by unionism into a nation-wide political and social revolution, and to use organized labor for that purpose. Then unionism balked and lined up with Mayor Hanson and the public authorities in squelching the red radicals and thwarting their attempt at domination over unionism.

Many of us are not inclined to recognize elements of conservatism in the theories and actions of organized labor, but at all events let us encourage the distinction, as yet recognized by organized labor, between the industrial purposes of unionism and the revolutionary aims of Socialism. (15)

The Socialists are thoroughly organized throughout the country. They have their official headquarters in every State and in

(15) See articles by Samuel Gompers and Ole Hanson in McClure's Magazine, April, 1919; also Gompers in May, 1919, McClure's.

every large city, with their press bureaus, centers of Socialist propaganda, and their officially recognized organs of the public press. All their activities are in the line of inciting, and of sympathy with, sedition, subversion of our state and federal governments, and the crippling of private industries. In Minneapolis, the principal city in the best fed state in the Union, the very center of the bread-basket of the world, is published a Socialist paper called "Hunger" which is only a bolshevist libel upon our great Northwest and upon the American people. When J. A. Bentall, the former Socialist candidate for Governor of Minnesota, was announced to start on his way to jail to serve a sentence for sedition, a "farewell meeting" was officially announced by the Minnesota Socialist organization and the printed announcement said:

"This will be the last public appearance of *Comrade Bentall*, before he has to go to the Crow Wing county jail for 'sedition' on February 2. Admission free. Auspices, Socialist Party of Minnesota."

Congressman Martin Dies of Texas, summarized the menace of Socialism, when last week on the floor of the Congress, he said:

"I would rather have anarchy than Socialism, because you recover from it more quickly. Anarchy is a good deal like a severe attack of pneumonia. The crisis may pass in two or three days. But Socialism is the galloping consumption of the nation, where you linger and languish and perish away."

There is no more active and wide-spread propaganda anywhere in the world than that of Socialism in this country. It is not a mere theroetical menace, it is here with you now. It has laid its hand upon the industries of one great State and in many ways, by subtle encroachments, is increasing its hold upon the industries of the Nation. Under Socialism industries are to be eliminated. Under Socialism that governmental control which today means the State is to be eliminated. See to it, therefore, first of all, that our industries and that our governments, state and federal, are safeguarded against this menace to their very existence.

Let us talk further of Industries and the State when those institutions have been preserved to us from the ruin which now threatens.

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